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lines I hope that he finds here the expression of my gratitude for the enthusiasm with which he imparted to me the sum of his knowledge. In collaborating so completely, he showed much generosity since he was convinced that any bit of information about the past of Easter Island was worth a fortune.

I owe much to Victoria Rapahango, one of the last descendants of the king's family, who checked all my notes and helped me in the reconstruction of ancient techniques. She is perhaps the last person who perpetuates on Easter Island the traditions of nobility and culture of the old Polynesian aristocracy.

The archaeological investigation of the island was undertaken by Dr. Lavachery, who will publish separately the results of his survey of the north coast. Our joint work was carried on in a spirit of harmony that is one of my most pleasant memories of the Expedition. Dr. Drapkin, who was delegated by the Chilean Government to study the problem of leprosy on the island, willingly collaborated with us. He made most of the natural history collections for the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris, studied the demography and the blood groups of the natives, and generously gave medical assistance to the natives.

Throughout my stay, from July 1934 to the beginning of January 1935, I tried to live with the natives as intimately as possible. I doubt that a longer visit would have added much to my material. However, I regret that I did not have sufficient time to study the acculturation problems, which I hope will be the aim of a future expedition. Likewise the time was too short to complete a detailed survey of the archaeology of the island. It would be desirable for a group of trained archaeologists to devote an entire year to making plans of the innumerable ruins scattered throughout the island. No new information could be expected from such a survey, but the ruins are unprotected and constantly threatened with destruction by the natives or careless visitors.

The published literature on Easter Island is considerable. Most of it has been listed in the excellent catalog of Father Martin Gusinde. I have consulted all the publications mentioned in it and others that have appeared since 1922. I am convinced that no important source has escaped my attention and that the reader will find in this book all the available documentation on the island.

A few days after we left Easter Island, it was visited by the Templeton Crocker Expedition. Dr. H. L. Shapiro, Anthropologist of the American Museum of Natural History and a member of that Expedition, studied the physical anthropology of the modern population, and has contributed to this book a chapter on the racial composition of the islanders.

All the legends and traditions that I collected were recorded in the Easter Island language. For reasons of economy, only a few examples of native text are published here. The original manuscripts are filed in the Library of Bishop Museum where they are available to students of Polynesian linguistics. These texts are accompanied by vocabularies and by additional chants.

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SURVEY OF THE VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO, EASTER ISLAND, BY THE MANA EXPEDITION.[1]

[With Plates III—XVII, and Maps.]

By Mrs. Scoresby Routledge.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

During the first portion of the time spent by the Expedition on the Island, 1914–15, they resided at the foot of the hill on which Orongo stands, and for some weeks, whenever the weather and other circumstances rendered it possible, ascended to the site and spent the day in examining the remains. They were frequently accompanied by natives with the object of gaining local information, but the knowledge acquired in this way with regard to structure, as distinct from folk-lore, was not very great. Various visits were also paid to the locality by the Expedition towards the end of their sojourn, and doubtful points were studied afresh.

Every possible house was thus in turn entered and many of them more than once. This was not always an easy process, as it usually necessitated scrambling on hands and knees, or wriggling like a serpent, through the diminutive tunnel-like entrances which give access to the interior; the investigation was attended also by a certain apprehension that the large slabs of the roof, often in a precarious condition, might descend on the heads of the visitors. In perfect specimens the inside was almost dark and had to be examined by means of candles. It must be remembered, in extenuation of a certain lack of uniformity which at times exists in the notes, that knowledge with regard to the dwellings was only procured by degrees and as the study proceeded. Some of the work also had to be done during the absence in Chile of the head of the Expedition, owing to the outbreak of the European War.

The survey of the village was made independently by the Surveyor to the Expedition. With regard to each individual house, only a general accuracy of ground plan was aimed at by him, and when the detailed drawing has obviously conflicted with fuller information obtained by others it has been altered accordingly.

In the illustrations, the photographs are topographically accurate. The sketches have been drawn so as to convey a generally truthful impression, but not so as to be necessarily correct in every detail, which was not their object. Some of the illustrations which have previously appeared are repeated for more detailed reference.

The carved rocks were studied on many occasions and in various lights, and photographs were taken. Attempts which were made to obtain paper squeezes were not very successful, as owing to the distance from camp it was rarely found

[1] The cost of the blocks for the illustration of this paper was defrayed by Mrs. Routledge.

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possible to remove them at the right moment, the high eddying wind from the cliff tearing them to pieces as they dried.

While every endeavour has been made to ensure accuracy, it will be readily understood that it has been almost impossible to avoid all mistakes and omissions, especially when matters cannot be fully written up on the spot. These it is to be hoped will be rectified by our successors.

Finally, an appeal must be made for kind indulgence owing to the circumstances under which the text has inevitably been finished, which render it impossible to obtain friendly criticism or make personal correction of the proofs.

S.S. *Camito*, off Jamaica,
Christmas Day, 1920.

HISTORY, POSITION, AND PLAN OF THE VILLAGE.

On the summit of the extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, which forms the south-western angle of Easter Island, stand the old stone village and carved rocks of Orongo. There is as yet no clue to the date of the earliest houses or carvings, but the dwellings were occupied as lately as the sixties of last century, and the builder of one of the latest is said to have been remembered in recent times. The site was connected with a bird-cult practised in the islands, and the inhabitants awaited here the coming of a migratory sea bird, the Sooty Tern, which nested on some rocky islets near at hand. Such information as could be gathered about the bird-cult has been recorded elsewhere,[1] and it is proposed to deal here only with the existing stone remains.

On three of its aspects the mountain of Rano Kao has been worn away by the sea till its sides are almost vertical, and, in its outermost portion, only a narrow edge of rock separates the lake, which lies within the crater basin, from the Pacific Ocean. The village commences where the width of the rim, between the crater wall and the sea cliff, is about one hundred yards. It follows the diminishing summit for about two hundred yards and terminates very shortly before the narrowest part of the rim is reached, and where the breadth of level ground is only 30 to 40 feet (Plate III).

Where the houses begin the crater edge is somewhat higher than that of the cliff, and the dwellings lie, broadly speaking, in two rows which at one point overlap one another. The final houses are built amongst a group of rocks which are highly carved. All the houses face the sea, and are entered from that side. For the sake of convenience, the front, or seaward aspect, will be uniformly termed the "south" side; actually it varies somewhat, but is most generally south-west. The total number of dwellings is forty-eight.[2]

[1] See *Folk Lore*, December, 1917: *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 258.

[2] The numbers shown on plan reach forty-five, but in three cases, where a house has not been identified by the Surveyor, it has been inserted and the numbers duplicated.

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The Ariki or chief of the Miru was not a leader in war nor the fountain of justice, nor even a priest; he was the great authority on the tablets. The last great chief "Gnaara" died about a year before the arrival of the Peruvians. He was said to be short and broad, very fair, but so heavily tattooed as to look dark.

At Anakena Bay on the northern coast, where tradition says the first landing took place, a great gathering was held every year. One old man, Te Haha, gave us a vivid description of the scene. He had himself been there as a boy as a sort of A.D.C. to the chief. Gnaara and his son sat on seats made of tablets. Before them in rows stood the professors of the great art, with an aisle down the centre; each man had his tablet, and was called on to read aloud. If he did not read correctly our friend Te Haha was directed by the chief to take away the offender.

What has been so far said on the subject refers to the sacred hieroglyphics only. We were fortunate enough to come across another kind of writing, of a similar nature but different both in form and intention. This was found on a paper in the village, and the signs were noted as dissimilar from those previously known. The paper was traced to a certain old man, Tomenico by name. He was suffering from incurable disease, confined to the leper colony, and of impaired memory. It was however worth while to make an effort. The first visit was a failure, but on the second and third, with a different native escort, things went better. Tomenico was seated outside his house and asked for a pencil and paper. He drew a number of signs similar to those on the paper, writing across the sheet, and then said the paper was not long enough. The line had to be continued direct; it could not go on the next line, so another sheet was supplied. Other lines went underneath it. To each symbol he then recited a set of words. There was no doubt as to the genuineness of the recitation. When he was stopped that the words might be taken down he was put out and had to begin again. It was more doubtful, however, whether the symbols had any connection with the words; they were apparently used more as the beads might be in a rosary. Two more visits were paid in the endeavour to get the system of writing, but he was then very ill and confined to his hut. Every means was tried, but little that was intelligible could be arrived at, and the effort had with deep regret to be abandoned. A fortnight later he died. Happily another old man in the village, though he had little knowledge of the hieroglyphics, had lived with Tomenico in his earlier years, and it was possible through him to get at their drift with comparative completeness and certainty. This is too long to go into on this occasion, but it may be briefly said that they dealt with minor events on the island, which were arranged in cycles of ten years.

While knowledge of the statues has almost disappeared, and detailed acquaintance with the tablets is following in its wake, there was found to have existed yet another cult, with regard to which, living memory is still strong and clear. This is the ceremony connected with the bird-cult or

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It was these burial-places, on which the images were then standing, which so strongly impressed the early voyagers and whose age and origin have remained an unsolved problem.

During the whole of our time on the island we worked on the ahu as way opened. Those which happened to lie near to either of our camps were naturally easy of access, but to reach the more distant ones, notably those on the north shore, involved a long expedition. Such a day began with perhaps an hour's ride; at noon there was an interval for luncheon, when, in hot weather, the neighbourhood was scoured for miles to find the smallest atom of shade; and the day ended with a journey home of not less than two hours, during which an anxious eye was kept on the sinking sun. The usual method, as each ahu was reached, was for S. to dismount, measure it and describe it; while I sat on my pony and scribbled down notes; but in some manner or other every part of the coast was by one or both of us ridden over several times, and a written statement made of the size, kind, condition, and name of each monument.

Unfortunately there is in existence no large-scale plan of the coast, a need we had to supply as best we could; map of Easter Island there is none, only the crude chart; the efforts of our own surveyor were limited, by the time at his disposal, to making detailed plans of a few of the principal spots. The want is to be regretted geographically, but it does not materially affect the archæological result. We were always accompanied by native guides in order to learn local names and traditions, and it was soon found necessary to make a point of these being old men; owing to the concentration of the remains of the population in one district, all names elsewhere, except those of the most important places, are speedily being forgotten. The memories of even the older men were sometimes shaky, and to get reasonably complete and accurate information the whole of a district had, in more than one case, to be gone over again with a second ancient who turned out to have lived in the neighbourhood in his youth and hence to be a better authority.

Original Design and Construction of Image Ahu.—The burial-places are not all of one type, nor all constructed to carry statues; some also are known to have been built comparatively recently, and will therefore be described under a later section. The image ahu are, however, all prehistoric. They number just

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whole of the images in the island have been made from it, and they have been dragged from this point up hill and down dale to adorn the terraces round the coast-line of the island; even the images on the ahu, which have fallen into the sea on the further extremity of the western volcano, are said to have been of the same stone. It is conspicuous in being a reddish brown-colour, of which the smallest chips can be easily recognised. It is composite in character, and embedded in the ash are numerous lapilli of metamorphic rock. Owing to the nature of this rock the earliest European visitors came to the conclusion that the material was factitious and that the statues were built of clay and stones; it was curious to find that the marooned prisoners of war of our own time fell into the same mistake of thinking that the figures were "made up."

The workable belt, generally speaking, forms a horizontal section about half-way up the side of the mountain. Below it, both on the exterior and within the crater, are banks of detritus, and on these statues have been set up; most of them are still in place, but they have been buried in greater or less degree by the descent of earth from above (fig. 57). Mr. Ritchie made a survey of the mountain with the adjacent coast, but it was found impossible to record the results of our work without some sort of plan or diagram which was large enough to show every individual image. This was accomplished by first studying each quarry, note-book in hand, and then, with the aid of field-glasses, amalgamating the results from below; the standing statues being inserted in their relation to the quarries above. It was a lengthy but enjoyable undertaking. Part of the diagram of the exterior has been redrawn with the help of photographs (fig. 60); the plan of the inside of the crater is shown in what is practically its original form (fig. 47).

Quarries of Rano Raraku.—Leaving on one side for the moment the figures on the lower slope, let us in imagination scramble up the grassy side, a steep climb of some one or two hundred feet to where the rock has been hewn away into a series of chambers and ledges. Here images lie by the score in all stages of evolution, just as they were left when, for some unknown reason, the workmen laid down their tools for the last time and the busy scene was still. Here, as elsewhere, the wonder of the place can only be appreciated as the eye becomes trained to see. In the

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to several in turn, finally returning to its own destination. We collected a certain number of genealogical trees, the various dramatis personæ being for this purpose represented by matches or buttons. It was not a very popular line of research, the cry being apt to be raised, "Now let's talk of something interesting"; but some two hundred names were in this way placed in their family groups, with details of clan, place of residence and colour, and some knowledge obtained with regard to many more. It is not of course enough ground on which to found any theory, but it was very useful in checking information gathered in other ways. Only in one case was it possible to get back beyond the great-grandfather of our informant, but the knowledge of family connections was often greater than would be found among Europeans. The number of childless marriages was striking.

The early story of Viriamo (fig. 83), the oldest woman living in our day, gives a picture of this primitive state of things. She belonged to the clan of Ureohei, and her family had lived for some generations, as far back as could be remembered, on the edge of the eastern volcano, not far from Raraku. The great-grandfather, who was dark, had as his only wife a white woman of the Hamea. Their son was white, and had two wives, one of the Tupahotu and one of the Ngaure. By the first, although she also was white, he had a dark son who married a white wife of his own clan, Ureohei, but of a different group. Viriamo was the second of their eight children, all of whom were white save herself and her eldest brother. Four of the girls died young in the epidemic of smallpox in 1864. Viriamo and two of her sisters were initiated as children into the bird rite.[1] When older she was tattooed with rings round her forehead and with the dark-blue breeches. Somewhat later, but still as a young woman, she went over to Anakena and had her ears pierced, but she never had the lobe extended, preferring to let it remain small. When asked about her marriage, she bridled as coyly as a young girl. Her first union was a matter of arrangement, the husband, who was also of the Ureohei, giving her father much food, and, if she had refused to accept the situation, she would, she said, have been beaten. There was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over. The house was near the two statues with

[1] See below, pp. 266–68.

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212 124 We were fortunately just in time to come across a man who had been able to make one species of glyphs, though he was no longer, alas! in the hey-day of his powers. We were shown one day in the village a piece of paper taken from a Chilean manuscript book, on which were somewhat roughly drawn a number of signs, some of them similar to those already known, others different from any we had seen (fig. 99). They were found to have been derived from an old man known as Tomenika. He was, by report, the last man acquainted with an inferior kind of rongo-rongo known as the "tau," but was now ill and confined to the leper colony. We paid a visit to him armed with a copy of the signs, but found him inside his doorway, which it was obviously undesirable to enter, and disinclined to give help; he acknowledged the figures as his work, recited "He timo te ako-ako," and explained some of the signs as having to do with "Jesus Christ." The outlook was not promising.

212 126 Another visit, however, was paid, this time with Juan's assistance, and though the old man appeared childish, and the natives frankly said that "he had lost his memory," things went better. He was seated on a blanket outside his grass-hut, bare-legged, wearing a long coat and felt hat; he had piercing brown eyes, and in younger days must have been both good-looking and intelligent. He asked if we wanted the tau, and requested a paper and pencil. The former he put on the ground in front of him between his legs, and took hold of the pencil with his thumb above and first finger below; he made three vertical lines, first of noughts then of ticks, gave a name to each line, and proceeded to recite. There was no doubt about the genuineness of the recitation, but he gabbled fast, and when asked to go slowly so that it could be taken down, was put out and had to begin again; he obviously used the marks simply to keep count of the different phrases. At the end of the visit he offered to write something for next time. We left some paper with him, and on our return two or three days later he had drawn five lines horizontally, of which four were in the form of the glyphs, but the same figure was constantly repeated, and there were not more than a dozen different symbols in all. It was said by the escort to be "lazy writing." Tomenika complained that the paper was not "big enough," so another sheet was given, which was put by the side of the first and the lines continued in turn

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horizontally. He drew from left to right rapidly and easily. 212
Unfortunately, it did not seem wise to touch the paper, but 126
the writing was copied, by looking over it as he went on, with the sincere hope that his blanket did not contain too many inhabitants of some infectious variety. The recitation was partly the same as on the previous occasion, the signs taking the place of ticks; anything from three or four to ten words were said to each sign. If he made a variation when asked to repeat, it was in transposing the order of two phrases; evidently the signs themselves were not to him, now at any rate, connected with particular words.

When we subsequently went with our escort into the meaning 212
of the words, it was found that the latter half of each phrase generally consisted of one of the lower numericals preceded by the word "tau," or year—thus, "the year four," "the year five," etc.; the numbers, roughly speaking, ran in order of sequence up to ten, recommencing with each line. The first part of the phrase was generally said to be the name of a man, but of this it was difficult to judge, as children were called after any object or place; thus "flowering grass" might be the name of a thing, or of a place, or of a man called after either the object or the locality.

Happily, one of the most reliable old men, Kapiera by name, had at one time lived with Tomenika, who was said to have been in those days always busy writing; and he was able to explain the general bearing of the tau. When a koro was made in honour of a father, an expert was called in to commemorate the old man's deeds, "how many men he had killed, how many chickens he had stolen," and a tablet was made accordingly. There was, in addition, a larger tablet containing a list of these lesser ones, and giving merely the name of each hero and the year of his koro. It would read somewhat thus, "James the year four, Charles the year five," and so forth, going up to the year ten, when the numbers began again. If there were two koro in a year, they came under the same numeral. It was this general summary which had been recited by Tomenika, and, though there was a certain amount of confusion, each line seems to have represented a decade. In addition, as will be seen, "James" and "Charles" each had a kohau of their own.

Kapiera was able to give a specimen of the lesser tau; it illus-